

THE LABOUR ORGANISER

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THE SECRETARY'S PAGE HELPS AND HINTS IN SEASON.

Labour and the Co-ops.

Notwithstanding the heavy offensive which the Tories, seconded by the Liberals, have this year carried on against the Labour Party within and without the Co-operative Movement, in the endeavour to check the growing cohesion between these two Movements, events have proved too strong for them.

There is abundant evidence from all parts of the country that the members of the Co-operative Societies are more and more awake to the fact that the only Political Party which stands for their interests is the Labour Party. Timidity in some places, and an over-weening desire not to offend the susceptibility of others, has given encouragement to our enemies to believe that some success has attended their efforts in seeking to drive a wedge between Co-operation and Labour. But we believe that the publicity which has been given to the recent agreement and the discussions consequent thereupon have done little more than discover Labour's real strength in the Co-operative Movement—and this is immense.

The time has come when earnest consideration must be given by the Labour Movement to the organised and avowed attempts of Liberals and Tories to check Labour's progress. The methods adopted have not been merely those of press attacks and prejudiced speeches at meetings, but special whip-ups have been known to take place, and nominations for offices have in many places been successfully engineered with an eye on the political complexion of the nominees.

Labour would have been well content to rely on the honesty of its purposes and the irrefutable evidence of its deep attachment and natural alliance with the Co-operative Movement, but while such tactics are being resorted to by our opponents it is idle to sit down and allow Co-operative Committees to be packed with persons who do not represent the real sense of the members and the basic objects of the Movement.

We are afraid there is room for a vast improvement in the attendance of

Labour people at the general meetings of Co-operative Societies. This can be remedied, and ought to be remedied, and an improvement in this direction alone would soon secure that the objects and best interests of Co-operation are properly represented on the Committees. But Labour secretaries have something to do in this matter. To our own knowledge important functions have sometimes been fixed for the same night as the Co-op. quarterly meeting. There can be no excuse for this, for the date of Co-operative meetings are generally known far ahead, and it is up to Labour secretaries to keep these dates free. We would even go further and say it is up to them to be present at the meetings with their members. Some little attention to this matter is desirable in a good many places. And a nod is as good as a wink, is it not?

Arranging Debates.

Quite one of the most effective means for propaganda is the public debate. In the early days of the Socialist Movement many famous debates took place, and it is not too much to say that thousands of converts were brought over as a result of them. Challenges to debate are even to-day a favourite weapon of the extreme left wing who often have little to learn in the arts of cheap propaganda. We are addressing ourselves, however, to the main body of the Labour Movement, who are bent on recruitment, and the acceptance of debates on these lines is not the sort of thing we have in mind; nor ordinarily are debates between the right and left wing of the Movement, or the centre parts, of any value in bringing in recruits. We are advocating debates as a means of attracting and converting the outside public. Such fixtures should, therefore, be sought with prominent members of our Tory and Liberal opponents. Challenges to debate ought not to go out promiscuously from the fag-end speakers at any gathering, indoor or outdoor. A challenge to debate, which is to be taken up by the Party, should

"The Layman's Guide to the Franchise" in this and coming issues.

be issued by the Party through its officers, and it is the Party who should choose the speaker who is to champion our Cause.

There is an advantage in being challenged, for by the customs in these matters the challenger affirms and begins. But the challenger chooses the subject (and can be held thereto) and in accepting challenges one must be very careful of the precise terms of the subject otherwise pitfalls may be fallen into. In choosing subjects for debate, that is to say, in issuing challenges, the line of attack is always the right one to take rather than to seek merely to affirm some point in one's own programme. Thus we should seek to affirm that "The Government's Conduct in Foreign Affairs is conducive to War" rather than the "Labour Party's Policy in Foreign Affairs is Conducive to Peace." Attack always braces the crowd and brings them over to one's side. For example no great kudos could arise from defending a motion to be debated by a Tory speaker who chose for his subject "That the Labour Government's treatment of the unemployed was a failure." Not that there would not be an effective and crushing answer, but the Labour speaker would necessarily have to take up the greater part of his time with rebutments and explanations, and these are lost on any crowd. The Tory speaker should rather be induced, if he is the challenger, to affirm "that the Conservative Government's treatment of the unemployed question has been statesmanlike and in the best interests of industry." In this case the Labour acceptor would have a happy time, for his slashing attack would follow what must inevitably have been a prosy and laboured defence. Virtually, in such a debate the attacker, i.e., the proposer, would become the attacked, and the real attacker would have all the advantages of speaking second and fourth. It is easy to imagine subjects the other way round but sufficient has been said to show that in organising debates one must carefully choose the subject with a view to position and the possibilities of effective and popular criticism.

An Ounce of Tact.

It is our lot to attend a good many meetings of all sorts of Local Labour organisations. We are often led to reflect that an ounce of tact is worth a

pound of ability. Will not our readers agree? Who has not known a public speaker who will blunder into a tactless remark that will lose him the support of a considerable section of his audience, and who often only makes matters worse by seeing his mistake and seeking to amend it with even less tact? So, too, in Party meetings, movers and seconders and supporters of resolutions sometimes lose support they might otherwise have obtained by some tactless remark—often an irrelevant criticism of some other officer. We know secretaries, too, full of ability and energy who nevertheless can never make headway, and whose Party withers under their care, solely because they cannot exercise the quality of tact. Tact may be a God-given gift, and nobody possesses all he requires of it. But tact can be cultivated in one's relation with others. The philosophic outlook is conducive to tact, but many people cannot understand the uses and values of differing opinion. Of such stuff heretics are made and by such stuff heretics were burnt. When one has appreciated that another man's view may be as good or as correct as one's own there is no call for acerbity or hostility in one's attitude to him or his proposition. One's altered attitude is not really tact at all but it will pass as tact. Read, then, this first lesson again.

The second lesson in the exercise of tact is to cultivate a desire to say one's things in a way that will not hurt. Some men cannot for the life of them do this. Well we remember certain comrades of our experience whose every word was a rasp and whose every sentence was a stab. Not that they meant it, dear no. It was just their way of expressing things. Their enemies, and they were many, each and all avowed that the speakers were the last word in vitriol and virulence. But not a bit of it. The real trouble was that these friends of our recollection could not express themselves otherwise. They spoke the normal language of their lives. But they might have tried, and others, too, might try, to speak for once in plain language without hurting. It is a hard lesson for some, but it is a lesson that gets easier with practice. Though again it isn't really tact, it will pass as tact, if at the right moment you control yourself and throw a bouquet instead of a brick.

A Book within a Book—"The Layman's Guide to the Franchise."

I am the Party.

How do men reach the top of the tree—in the Labour world we mean, and not in industry? The vinegared one will say there isn't much difference—they get there all the same! But hasn't tact something to do with it? Tact that won the hearts of one's Branch; tact that allowed one to make fewer enemies than normally, and even to win over some of these; tact that led one to wise decisions instead of hasty ones and gained the confidence of others in hundreds, in thousands, in tens of thousands? And so on up. Compare this with two remarks heard the other day. No. 1 was "I am the — Party; what *I* say goes!" No. 2 was "My candidate does as I tell him, and my Party does, too." Tactful gentlemen weren't they, both of them? How long will it be before their fall? Now whosoever can say I AM THE PARTY *has not got* a real Party, and certainly much as he might like you to believe it he emphatically is not the leader of one. There are coteries, there are cliques, but a Party is neither a clique or a coterie. It is above these things, and it has a soul of its own. No leader, however, big can put his Party in his pocket and say I AM IT! Real leadership is never absolute and imperial like this. The leaderships which men have attained in the Labour Movement spring from confidences that have been inspired, and going with this is a knowledge of how to bring men to one's line of thought. The wise leader is led though he appears not to be so, but he is alive to the tendencies of his following and he keeps ahead because he anticipates them. But all the same, this is democracy, functioning dually through its leadership and its chosen Executives. I AM THE — fiddlesticks! No man ever was. And for our friend whose candidate does all he wants him to, and whose Party says ditto, may we refer him to the first lesson up above? He must learn the value of other people's opinions and if there are not other people's opinions in his Party then it is a desert, and his candidate is Dead Sea fruit. Democracy in its functioning doesn't always provide a bed of roses, but if the Movement is to go on, Democracy must function in it, and "I AM IT" must go out.

More About Canvassing.

We have received several letters thanking us for our recent article on canvassing and we note that one important Labour journal reprinted the article for the benefit of its readers. We now want to press on Local Parties our view that canvassing is not solely a matter of elections. The most vital and important work of canvassing is that which is done between elections. We were in the East Nottingham Division a week or two ago and there at least this point is seriously appreciated. A little canvassing is done *every night*. Now this is the right thing. Imagine every Party in the country canvassing just a few houses *every night*. There are over 3,000 Local Labour Parties and there are five workable nights a week. What a record of accomplishment could be obtained in three months! Canvassing in this way simply means calling at the houses, leaving an odd leaflet or two, and inviting the residents to join the Party. We know of Local Parties where months go by without a single knocker being touched on behalf of the Party. Cannot you persuade your Party to alter this matter and resolutely decide that at least a few houses shall be canvassed *every day*. The labour involved is utterly trifling. If only six houses a night are touched by the whole Party, in three month's time hundreds of houses will have been visited. Six houses a night means half-an-hour's work or at most an hour's work—an hour's accomplishment with all the resources of the Party to do it with. Is it possible that there will be a boggle over canvassing six houses? The job can be done even on the way to a meeting, on the way to the Pictures, on the way to the Labour Club, on the way home. It is a job that one might even ask every member to do, but here we are only putting up the proposition that the work might be divided amongst the existing members taking one night a month, one night a week or one night in three months, according to the present membership. It is a woefully little task to perform and yet in a month or two it is possible for this little bit of canvassing to return extraordinary results. Please bring this suggestion before your Local Party and write the "Labour Organiser" as to the results. Remember six houses a

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night by every Local Party in the country means that 90,000 houses would be canvassed in a week. Your Party may have to canvass double or treble the number suggested in order to make up for the weaker ones, but whatever the total number of houses canvassed may be, a good try on these lines by as many Parties as possible cannot but result in increased power and membership for the Party. We shall return to this subject again.

The Membership Canvasser.

And on the question of canvassing we are profoundly convinced that just as the paid Organiser becomes necessary in time in every constituency, so in many places the paid membership canvasser is already required. The future of the Labour Movement will demand bigger and bigger paying membership in the constituencies. It is extremely doubtful whether the collection of contributions of considerable proportions can continue to be effectively organised on voluntary labour. Neglected contributions and neglected membership may bring Labour into bad odour and these things want putting on business lines. In many places the time is ripe for employing a membership canvasser on salary and commission whose business it would be both to canvass our sympathisers for actual membership and to collect the contributions as due, or to organise the collection. Circumstances differ considerably in the constituencies and in some places sub-collectors for particular shops or areas are desirable. In other places the time is almost ripe, if not quite ripe, when the collection of Labour Party contributions could be arranged on regular rounds and regular days set apart for canvassing.

The attention of secretaries is particularly drawn to the advertisement of a new Labour Service (The Labour Propaganda and Publishing Service) advertised on another page. We have seen some of the work of this firm and are extremely pleased with it. The agent or secretary who believes in efficient methods and systems will gain much by sending to this firm for their lists, and we believe he will be convinced not only of the selection offered and reasonable prices but of the service and satisfaction he is likely to receive.

AGENCY CHANGES.

We regret that by an error in our last issue it was stated that Mr. E. F. Dean, of 12 Wymer Street, Norwich, Norfolk, had been appointed to Norwich, and commenced duties on 1st July. We should have said that Mr. Dean had been appointed to South Norfolk and not Norwich. The agent at Norwich is of course Mr. J. Brooksbank, whose offices are at Guildhall Corner Chambers, Norwich.

WIMBLEDON.—We are now notified that Mr. H. Hailstone has taken up duties here and the present address is Labour Hall, 105, Merton Road, Wimbledon, London, S.W.19.

HAMMERSMITH.—Mr. J. Selwyn Jones has been appointed agent and secretary to the Joint Co-operative and Labour Committees. Present address, 41 Brook Street Road, Hammersmith.

BARKSTON ASH.—Mr. John J. Fraser has been appointed agent to the Barks-ton Ash Co-operative Party. Present address: The Bungalow, Butt Hill, Kippax, near Leeds.

The London Propaganda and Publishing Service, 76 Minorities, London, E.C.

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BUT BRISTOL SLEEPS WITH ONE EYE OPEN.

Great play has recently been made by Labour propagandists and speakers of the general inconsistencies, contradictions and cross purposes of the Liberal Party in Parliament. The exposure in the constituencies has had a good deal to do with checking the bombastic campaigns that had been launched with the plunder the renegade Mr. Lloyd George brought to the Liberal Party—as the price he would pay to obtain the leadership!

Day by day it becomes more difficult to describe in sober language the audacious hypocrisy of present day Liberalism in everything it does or says, and we venture that if a collection could be made of the instances of the Liberal Party's duplicity in the constituencies, its bargainings and sellings, compacts and Judas' kisses it would make as entertaining a chapter as ever was conceived in the mind of Machiavelli.

That the Liberal Party stands for some school of thought or principle distinct from Conservatism is a fetish carefully fostered by Liberal Scribes and Pharisees, in spite of endless com-

pacts and understandings with Toryism.

We reproduce below photographic evidence of the latest alliance of our opponents. East Bristol is at present held by Mr. Walter Baker, M.P., with a Labour majority behind him of nearly 5,000—secured notwithstanding his absence abroad when the election was declared. On the last three occasions the Tory Party has obligingly stood out. Now a "Constitutionalist" has been adopted who is a Tory councillor for the City. The 12,000 votes which the Liberal polled on the last occasion are apparently to be handed over lock, stock and barrel to the new "Liberal and Unionist" organisation. One is almost tempted to ask the Party whose wealth has been secured by the sale of honours, what consideration they received for their latest transaction. We confess to a feeling however, that the very glaringness of their new Headquarters is likely to be their undoing. The premises shown were the late Liberal headquarters in the Division, and many an old Liberal, as he passes this window, will shake his head and feel once again he has been sold into bondage. Well, the Labour Party can give him the chance to express his disgust.



IMPROPER USE OF MILITARY BANDS AT TORY GATHERINGS.

We extract the following interesting item of news from the "Labour Torch" (Birmingham) the useful little monthly organ of the Yardley D.L.P.

In the House of Commons on 20th July, at the request of the Editor of the "Labour Torch," Mr. R. Dennison, Labour M.P. for King's Norton, asked the Secretary of State for War what are the regulations concerning bands of His Majesty's Territorial or Regular Army performing at political gatherings?

The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Commodore Douglas King): "It is contrary to established practice to permit bands of the Regular or Territorial Army to accept engagements at political gatherings."

Mr. Dennison: "Having regard to the reply of the hon. and gallant gentleman, will he cause enquiries to be made into the fact that the band of the 68th Brigade, Royal Field Artillery, performed at a Tory Party gathering in the Yardley Division of Birmingham on Saturday last, and that a similar band is advertised to perform at a gathering at Chelmsford, where the right hon. gentleman the Minister of Health is advertised to speak? Will an enquiry be made and information given that the practice is undesirable and ought not to be carried out?"

Commodore King: "I will make enquiries into any allegation the hon. gentleman may like to send to me."

Mr. Dennison: "I will send it."

Commodore King: "Thank you."

Mr. Dennison followed his question up by sending along his allegations to Commodore King on 25th July, who, in a reply dated 27th July, says:

"Dear Mr. Dennison,

"Thank you for your letter of the 25th July about the question of military bands playing at political gatherings.

"When you informed me about the engagement of the band of the 5th Batt. Essex Regiment to play at a Unionist Fête on the 23rd July steps were taken to get the engagement cancelled immediately, and a report has been called for on the circumstances in which this engagement and that of the band of the 68th Brigade at Yardley were accepted.

"We have also taken steps to get the engagement of the band of the 4th King's Own Regiment at Cark-in-Cartmel cancelled if it has not yet taken place.

"As regards the general question, we are sending a circular letter to Commands to ensure that the attention of Territorial bands is called to the rule and that if any more engagements have already been entered into they will be cancelled.

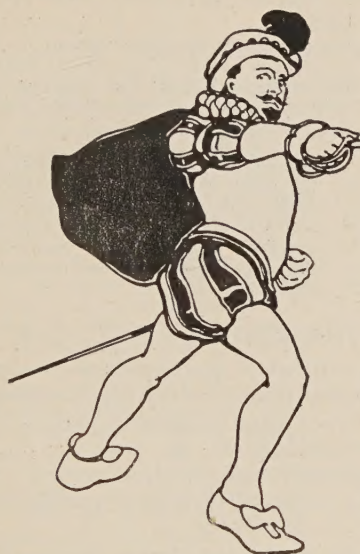
"Yours sincerely,

"(Signed) H. DOUGLAS KING."

Our readers' attention is particularly called to the advertisement of Messrs. Raistrick in this issue. It is precisely the time now to be sending for sample sets of novelties and lists of various kinds for the winter series of bazaars, sales of work and other functions. Messrs. Raistrick and Co. stock quite a number of novelties on which a good profit is to be made. Every secretary whether of a divisional or local party or of a ward committee should be interested in these lists.

"The Bolton Labour News" for September has been kindly sent us by the Editor, Coun. H. Eastwood, the secretary and agent to the Bolton Labour Party. The paper is an eight-page quarto and cover, duplicated production and its get-up and general business conduct are fully described by Mr. Eastwood in an article in another part of this issue. Our readers, as we are, will be deeply indebted to our correspondent for the information he has given us concerning the paper. Where funds will not permit of a printed publication, energy and enthusiasm and application will make shift for a time by means of the typewriter and the duplicator. But "The Bolton Labour News" is no amateur production; its duplicating is well done; its editorship is even better done, and it is prime full of interesting contents and effective propaganda and news matter, while it also reflects the many activities of the Local Labour Party. Mr. H. Eastwood's address is Spinners Hall, Bolton, and we understand that he would be glad to send a copy of the paper to those of our readers who apply for same provided a stamped-addressed envelope is enclosed for the purpose.

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THE LAYMAN'S GUIDE TO THE FRANCHISE

BY THE EDITOR.

ARTICLE I.—THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE (MEN).

(The object of the following series of articles is to provide the ordinary Labour worker or ward and polling district official with a simple and authoritative statement of the law concerning the Franchise.)

The difficulty of the lay worker is that so far he has had no choice between more or less casual summaries of the Franchise published in sundry publications and the heavier legal books, which of course deal exhaustively with the Representation of the Peoples Act, 1918,

and the numerous other matters outside the scope of the Franchise which were dealt with in that Measure. In this series it is sought to give reliable and accurate explanations together with the text of the Act where necessary, or other authorities.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLES ACT, 1918.

“Section 1. (1)—A man shall be entitled to be registered as a parliamentary elector for a constituency (other than a university constituency), if he is of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity and—

- (a) has the requisite residence qualification; or
- (b) has the requisite business premises qualification.

(2)—A man, in order to have the requisite residence qualification or business premises qualification for a constituency—

- (a) must on the last day of the qualifying period be residing in premises in the constituency, or occupying business premises in the constituency, as the case may be; and
- (b) must during the whole of the qualifying period have resided in premises, or occupied business premises, as the case may be, in the constituency, or in another constituency within the same parliamentary borough or parliamentary county, or with a parliamentary borough or parliamentary county contiguous to that borough or county, or separated from that borough or county by water, not exceeding at the nearest point six miles in breadth, measured in the case of tidal water from low-water mark.

For the purposes of this subsection the administrative county of London shall be treated as a parliamentary borough.

(3) The expression “business premises” in this section means land or other premises of the yearly value of not less than ten pounds occupied for the purpose of the business, profession, or trade of the person to be registered.

Note 1.—Of the many special changes made by the Representation of the Peoples Act, 1918, the most vital and far reaching of them are contained in the first 4 sections. The complicated Franchises which previously existed were swept away and the disqualifications and conditions that confined the Franchise to a fifth of the population were so dealt with as to mark the Act as a historical landmark in the history of Parliamentary Government.

The first effect of the Act was to enfranchise 3 million additional men and 6 to 7 million women, who received the vote for the first time.

Note 2.—“ENTITLED TO BE REGISTERED.” In other words entitled to be placed upon the register. Very exact provisions are laid down in subsequent sections of the Act as to the form of register and the method of its compilation. Several of the provisions of the 1918 Act relating to the register

have been superseded by later legislation, and the whole subject will be dealt with in a later article in this series.

Note 3. — "PARLIAMENTARY ELECTOR." A parliamentary elector is a person who is duly registered as such and so entitled to vote in an election for Parliament. A parliamentary elector is not necessarily entitled to a vote in the Local Government Elections in his area and will not vote for such unless he is also registered as a Local Government elector.

Note 4. — "FOR A CONSTITUENCY." A scheme for the redistribution of seats was embodied in the R.P. Act, 1918. The effect of the Act was to increase the membership of the House of Commons from 670 to 707. On the establishment of the Irish Free State representation in the Imperial Parliament from that part of Ireland embodied in the Free State, was abolished, and the representation of Northern Ireland was fixed at 13 members. The representation of Great Britain remained unchanged and the present Parliament consists of 615 members.

"The expression 'constituency' means (Section 41) any county, borough or combination of places, or university, or combination of universities, returning a Member to serve in Parliament; and, where a county or borough is divided for the purpose of Parliamentary elections means a division of the county or borough so divided."

The majority of constituencies return but one member to Parliament. A certain number of constituencies, however, return two members and where such is the case the person registered has two votes instead of one vote, though he may not give both votes to one candidate nor is he compelled to exercise both votes.

Note 5. — "UNIVERSITY CONSTITUENCY." There are 11 university constituencies. Other provisions of the Act lay down both a definite Franchise and a distinctive method of conducting elections therein. The provisions of Section 1 do not apply to a university constituency.

Note 6. — "OF FULL AGE." A distinction must be drawn between a person's "birthday" and the day on which he attains his full age. A person is deemed to attain a specified age on the day *preceding* his birthday, hours not being counted. Thus a person may

have been born a few hours before midnight on the 1st January. He would, however, be deemed to have attained his first year on the first minute of the morning of the following 31st December. His legal age could thus be almost 24 hours more than he had actually lived. This provision is important in regard to the time when a person becomes qualified. He must be of full age on the last day of the qualifying period. Thus, though a person's birthday may fall on the 2nd June he would have fulfilled the conditions because in law he became of full age on the previous day, i.e., 1st June. (The 1st June is now the last qualifying day.)

Note 7. — "LEGAL INCAPACITY." No person is entitled to be registered who suffers from a legal incapacity. Legal incapacity is something quite distinct from being merely disqualified for the want of fulfilling the necessary conditions, and a person incapacitated is not only disqualified from being registered, but forbidden to vote, and if he votes his vote may be objected to on petition. It is convenient here to give a list of persons who may suffer from legal incapacity:—

1. Peers.
2. Aliens.
3. Infants.
4. The holders of certain offices (principally in Scotland).
5. Idiots.
6. Lunatics (when not in a lucid interval).
7. Felons.
8. Certain persons convicted of corrupt or illegal practices or reported by an Election Court for this offence without having obtained a certificate of indemnity.

It should be noted that some of the above disqualifications are permanent and life long. Others exist for a temporary or specified term. The disqualification which formerly applied to conscientious objectors no longer exists by virtue of the expiration of the period for which this disqualification was enacted.

Note 8. — "REQUISITE RESIDENCE QUALIFICATION." The residence qualification is defined in subsection 2 "A man . . . must on the last day of the qualifying period be residing in premises in the constituency . . . and must during the whole of the qualifying period have resided in premises," etc., etc.

The essential point is the completion of the qualifying period and the requisite residence on the last day of the period in the particular constituency for which registration will take place. The qualifying period as laid down in the 1918 Act was 6 months (Section 6) but by the Economy (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1926, the qualifying period was reduced to 3 months. The 1918 Act enacted that there should be two registers a year the last day of the qualifying period being the 15th January, and the 15th day of July respectively. Under the second named Act half-yearly registers were abolished and the last day of the qualifying period was altered to the 1st June.

The condition of residence during the whole of the qualifying period is modified by Section 7 of the 1918 Act which says that "residence shall not be deemed to be interrupted by reason only of permission being given by letting or otherwise for the occupation of the house as a furnished house by some other person for part of the qualifying period not exceeding 4 months in the whole; or by reason only of notice to quit being served and possession being demanded by the landlord of the house." The period of 4 months here mentioned was reduced to two months by the Economy Provisions Act. A further modification of the conditions of residence is contained in Clause B of Sub-section 2, where what is known as "successive" qualification is defined and provided for.

Residence *anywhere* is not sufficient, but residence, if no matters in how many places, so long as it is continuous within the contiguous constituencies, is sufficient. A brief examination by the student of how these provisions would affect his own vote if he removed 10, 30 or 50 miles away would soon familiarise him with the working of the successive qualification. In effect an elector may remove over wide areas of the country and still retain his Parliamentary qualification.

There is one limitation which is enacted by Section 7, and which will be referred to in due course, which denies the vote to a man removing in and out of a constituency within 30 days before the end of the qualifying period and 30 days afterwards.

Note 9.—"RESIDING IN PREMISES." This term is by no means so simple as it looks. To take the question of premises, the existence of large numbers of

more or less temporary structures in some districts creates an unlooked for difficulty. A hut, no matter however humble, can be referred to as "premises," but a canvas structure or a canvas and wood structure such as some men reside in for periods certainly longer than 3 months presents a problem in terms. Would a tent be premises? We think that such a question would largely depend on the surrounding facts. Certainly some degree of permanence is implied in the term "premises" and the existence of sanitary conveniences might well make all the difference between compliance with the term or no. A tent pitched for the summer in somebody's field while the occupants went elsewhere for various conveniences and practically led an outdoor life or only camped out occasionally could hardly be said to comply with the meaning of the term "premises" as used in the Act.

Residence has in the past, as it will probably in the future, given rise to much disputation. Residence does not necessarily mean sleeping on the premises, but it certainly implies the right to sleep therein and the occasional use of the premises for that purpose, or at any rate an intention to return and use the premises for that purpose. "Constructive residence" is the term used to describe the sort of occupancy created by absences from the premises of the sort indicated. It is an involved matter wherein the particular facts and circumstances will mainly govern each case. For instance a man may well claim residence in a river-side bungalow to which he repairs at week-ends and other times. He may even continue to be entitled while seeking to let the bungalow furnished or actually letting the bungalow furnished. But if he ceased to go there and placed the bungalow in the hands of an estate agent with instructions to let or sell, although no right of occupancy would pass to the estate agent, residence or constructive residence would have ceased notwithstanding that the furniture remained.

Note 10.—"REQUISITE BUSINESS PREMISES QUALIFICATION." The requirement here is that a man must . . . be occupying business premises in the constituency and must during the whole of the qualification have . . . occupied business premises, etc. "Business premises" are defined in Sub-section 3 as land or other prem-

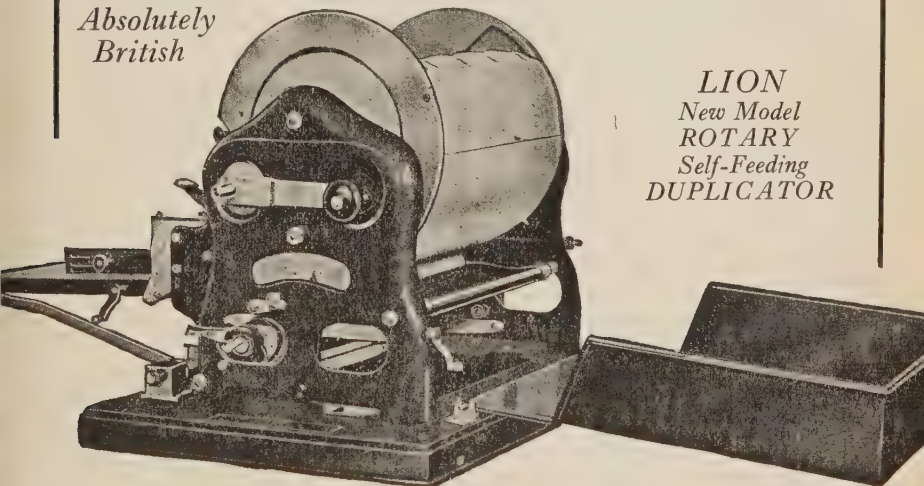
"I am more than satisfied with the machine,—it is simple, efficient, clean and singularly attractive

"The machine was recommended to me by Cr. ———, the Labour Party Agent at ——— and I shall certainly 'pass on the good news' whenever opportunity serves.

I am only anxious that my fellow Agents should know of your machine."

(Excerpts from letter received from a Labour Party Agent.)

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ises of the yearly value of not less than £10 occupied for the purpose of the business, profession, or trade of the person to be registered.

We have here a relic of the property qualification and evidence of the spirit of compromise in which the 1918 Act was framed. It will be noted that the same provisions as to successive occupation exist as for residence. The qualifying period is also the same.

The first provision requiring explanation is the meaning of "occupation." There is no requirement that a man shall be either owner or tenant but a man cannot be said to be in actual occupation if some other person such as the owner has the right to step in at any time and turn him out. Thus the manager of a shop is not the occupier. "Occupation" has been defined as the "actual exercise of the rights of the owner in possession" and this definition might be taken as the acid test in this matter.

It is a prime condition of the "business premises" qualification that the premises shall be occupied for the purpose of the business, profession, or trade of the person to be registered. Thus a person temporarily occupying a shop or offices formerly used for business purposes could not qualify for the business premises vote—and there are circumstances under which a person might prefer to be registered in respect of business premises rather than residence in order to be able to vote in two constituencies at a General Election.

The provision that the premises must be occupied in the manner just stated is of extreme importance and not infrequently land rented for shooting or similar purposes has been relied on for the purpose of securing the business vote. But land or premises occupied for pleasure do not fulfil the necessary conditions, and registration agents should be always alive to the misuse to which this particular qualification is subject.

It will be seen that the yearly value of the land or premises must be not less than £10. The Acts doesn't leave the question of value to be decided or declared by a claimant, but in Section 41 (9), it is declared that the yearly value of land or premises shall be taken to be the gross estimated rental, or in the Metropolis the gross value where the premises are separately assessed to

rates, and in any other case shall be deemed to be the amount which would in the opinion of the Registration Officer be the gross estimated rental or gross value, as the case requires, if they were separately assessed. Here it is well to note that not infrequently farm buildings, factories or estates extend over the boundaries of two divisions and separate assessments are made for particular buildings or appurtenances. The rights of a voter in these matters will be discussed in a later chapter.

(To be continued.)

A "DUPLICATED" LOCAL NEWSPAPER.

How It Is Done.

By Councillor H. Eastwood. (Labour Agent, Bolton.)

I have been asked personally, and by post, many times, how it is possible to run a local Labour newspaper, and, as one who has a considerable experience in journalism in all its forms, mechanical, administrative, editorial, and others, perhaps the following points may serve to help those who desire to run a local Labour paper. I have sent to him who must be obeyed, a copy of our latest issue, and his comments may be found elsewhere. I write these words before he expresses judgment. To those who care to send a stamped addressed envelope to me at the Spinners' Hall, Bolton, I will gladly send a copy, so that, with a copy of the "Bolton Labour News" in front of them, and the points of this article in their mind, neighbouring the actual figures of issue and cost, they may be able to understand in detail the actual work and costs involved.

The paper itself is a 12-page paper, printed in magazine form. It is printed on both sides of the paper, with a rule down the centre to divide into two columns to the page. The four inside leaves are printed on white, and the two outside leaves are printed on yellow to serve as covers. Yellow is the Labour colour in this constituency. It is stapled twice to make effective fastening, and also helps to present a more finished appearance than a single fastening. It is printed on a Gestetner Duplicating machine, and all the work is done by hand except one little detail. There are advertisements on the inside of

the two covers and on the outside of the back cover.

The contents of the news should be varied and made "snappy." General stuff should be avoided as much as possible, unless it is on a very special subject or written by a very special writer. It should be a distinctive paper, and should not attempt to be a sort of localised "Daily Herald." It should have a special appeal to your local members and sympathisers which is practically an exclusive appeal: that is, one that cannot be made by any other paper. In the preparation of the matter, avoid an "Editorial Committee" as you would the plague. Give the job to one man, but select your man carefully, and then give him your fullest confidence and support.

The mechanical production of the paper (in the case of this article) assumes the ownership by the local Labour Party of a Gestetner Duplicating machine or its equivalent, and also a stapling machine of modern fashion, such as a Hotchkiss Wire Stapling machine. It means valuable hours spent on the collection of suitable data and more time still on the presentation of the data when secured. Above all, it means special care in typing the stencils to get the most out of the space without spoiling the appearance of the magazine. Advertisements and designs are only possible when you can claim the service of men who are willing to

do this for you free, and who are specialists in this particular work. Otherwise you have to do it yourself, and even Labour Agents are not always the "Admirable Crichtons" the Party deems them to be (when it suits their convenience.) I have found the best way to get designs is to have somebody draw them for you actually on the stencil with a Stylo Pen. Failing that, I have taken any printed design that struck my fancy, and reproduced it in carbon on the backing sheet of the stencil, and then gone over it again actually on the stencil itself. It is a delicate work and a tiring job at times, but the finished result, containing the assurance of a good job done as well as you know how, is a comforting reward. There is always the inspiring hope that, some day, you may be able to persuade the Party to go in for a printed newspaper, making a sufficient profit to enable you to have assistance in the office, and then: Oh, Boy!

What does it cost! That depends on various things, such as how many pages you want and what size. Here are my actual figures based on an issue of 2,000 copies. For a 12-page paper this requires 25 reams of quarto sized paper, five tubes of ink, 14 stencils (you always spoil one or two) and 4,000 staples (two staples are much better than one). Here is the actual balance sheet.

EXPENSES.		£	s.	d.
Paper. 25 reams at 2/3		2	16	3
Five tubes of ink at 10/-		2	10	0
14 stencils		0	7	6
4,000 staples		0	4	0
Postages, cost of delivery, sundries		0	11	9

£6 10 0

INCOME.		£	s.	d.
Advertisements. Three pages at 30/- per page ...		4	10	0
Sales. Say an average of 1,500 copies at 1d. each		6	5	0

£10 15 0

Leaving a profit of	£4	5	0
Or, selling 2,000 copies at 13 for 9d.,			
Adverts	4	10	0
Sales	5	15	4

£10 5 4

A profit of £3 15 0 practically.

And now as they say in Lancashire, "Let's see thee have a do at it."

Written for YOUR workers—please see that they get it!

ADVERTISE!

By Wilfrid B. Hargreaves, Burnley.

The august editor of the "L.O." has often remarked on the missed opportunities of **free** publicity to our local Labour parties. He is quite right. Much free advertising is lost. Much potential publicity, free or at cost price, which could be had by Labour for the asking, is ignored.

Let me get down to brass tacks. I have seen club after club, run in the interests of Labour, **without a notice-board of any kind**. I have seen club after club with a small and **unused** notice-board, instead of a large one, in constant usage.

I have seen many trade union buildings and even some Labour Party offices, without a board, and without even a bill in their windows. I have seen I.L.P. rooms without a word of propaganda on them.

I have known good electrician supporters who have **never been asked** to illuminate an advert at night, even where electric light is installed in the very Labour building, and social events asking for nothing but advertisement are being shortly held. The Labour electrician, who is an enthusiast, can always connect up easily and quickly at no cost, and can very often lend a lamp cable and fittings free.

So I could go on. Enough has been said however to show that Labour's neglect of resources on its own doorstep is appalling. What shall we do?

Let us utilise all the free hoardings that we have. Let us proceed to put up more. If we cannot afford wood, let us use wood and canvas. But let's get them up on our own property and use them.

Any intelligent man can write bold posters with a little practice. I learnt in a day without teacher, so readers of the "L.O." can learn in the same time, perhaps in less.

Three simple rules must be observed in poster publicity. Brevity, plenty of white space, and "punch." The first two explain themselves, the third is easily illustrated.

"SOCIALISM—THE HOPE OF THE WORKERS."

is not nearly so good as

**"THIS IS THE
WORKERS' INSTITUTE."**

Punch means concreteness as opposed to abstract expressions. One more

example:—

Mothers! Labour stands for a good education for **your** child, too!

Facts, brief and to the point, are infinitely more devastating than pious hopes or abstract injunctions.

Posters are not handbills, nor are they letters. Posters should not go into detail. Their message must necessarily be brief. There is no means of advertising, however, so rapidly and so cheaply and within the limitations which I have stated, so effectively as by posters. The poorest Labour Party can find a few free hoardings and paint a few free posters.

Prepared, looked up and thought out posters never fail to influence the public. Haphazard publicity, done anyway, always fails.

Advertising consists of a chain of ideas, carefully linked together, forcefully expressed, and **calculated** to produce a cumulative reaction upon a definite group of people.

In every Capitalist newspaper, we can get brief letters inserted in the correspondence columns. I have never suffered fools gladly, but I'll argue in a newspaper with any fool, for there are thousands of lookers-on at a conflict of this kind. **They** are the ones who matter. Repeated letters can be got in to the worst "rags" in this way. May I commend this plan to every Labour Party.

Brief reports of speeches can be got into **local** papers fairly easily. In a county division I have duplicated 50 reports of a brief speech of the candidate or other speaker, and have had the satisfaction of seeing 48 out of 50 inserted in our opponents' papers.

They must be brief. They must be as "newsy" as possible. They should be typed. Then they'll get in often.

Circularising is **not** free; but it's wonderfully cheap, and wonderfully effective. Make it interesting. Make it neat. Make it personal, but do it regularly, frequently, and cumulatively, if I may use such a term.

A sealed envelope is much more sure of results than an unsealed one. Tinted paper and tinted envelopes are more effective than white ones. This is a large subject, however, which must be separately discussed at some future time, if the great one of the "L.O." permits.

**Labour, Time, Money—That's OUR cost. Yours is 4d. a copy.
So order more copies and help the good work.**

In the meantime, whining and complaints about the stupidity of the British working man, and denunciation of the Capitalist Press won't help us.

* * *

"Advertising is a chain of ideas, carefully linked together, forcefully expressed, and calculated to produce a cumulative reaction upon a definite group of people."

Why don't we get on with it?

GREAT REDUCTION in
Portable Open-air Speakers'
Platforms.—For particulars
and illustrations, apply to H.
W. Bingley, 106, Dunlace
Road, Clapton Park, E.5.

RUNNING A COUNTY MONTHLY NEWSPAPER.

Some Information about Finance.

"The Newcomer," the monthly organ of the Maldon Divisional Labour Party, has been mentioned before in our columns. It is a most readable and well-got-up eight-page paper almost exactly the size of the "Daily Herald." The contents are thoroughly varied and most attractive, the paper being well printed and of pleasing appearance.

We are glad to give our readers some particulars of how this paper is conducted and some figures concerning past finances, together with the financial prospects for the coming year now that the paper has been converted into a County paper to cover four constituencies. Incidentally, the paper has been enlarged.

Mr. L. R. Roberts, the active agent and secretary of the Maldon Divisional Labour Party, writes us as follows:—

"In response to your appeal in the August 'L.O.,' I am forwarding copies of recent issues of our paper 'The Newcomer.'

The development of the paper is somewhat interesting and I therefore give you the full story of its growth showing the finances from the first number in June, 1925.

You will see that we have increased the size of the 'Newcomer' from four to twelve pages and that the circulation covers the Maldon, Chelmsford, Saffron Walden and South-East Essex Constituencies.

The enclosed scheme of finance indicates that we have a guaranteed monthly sale of 9,000 copies. No copies are given away except when it appears necessary to conduct circulation campaigns in special areas. I think this policy has proved a right one. Readers appreciate a paper for which they pay, while one wonders just how far free literature pushed through the door is read.

We have a system of local correspondents who send monthly notes from their districts. From my experience I am confident that it is this local 'gossip' which keeps our circulation up. People still like to see their names in print and reports of local functions, weddings, etc., are always appreciated. It is these things that are read *first* and not the propaganda articles.

As to the extension of the scope of the paper to our neighbouring Divisions. This was a matter for very careful examination. It is obvious that the wider the circulation the less 'local character' can one have in the paper, and from that point of view, the Maldon Division had nothing to gain from the extension. Indeed it placed a great deal of additional work on the broad shoulders of the already over-worked Agent!

There were, however, other reasons why we decided to invite the other Divisional Parties to come in.

In the early days of the paper we found that with the limited resources in our own Division, a four-page paper was all that could be managed. It competed badly with the existing county papers, and was described as a 'rag.' Secondly, it was costly to run when we had to rely upon the loyalty of our thousand odd members and could offer nothing attractive to outside readers.

Thirdly, with a maximum circulation of 4,000 advertisements were extremely difficult to obtain.

Fourthly, it was obvious that our neighbouring Divisions were not in a position to face the responsibility of financing an independent journal in their own Divisions, nor would be for some years.

These, then, were the main reasons for the development of the paper to its present position. This policy has

vertisement rate is $3\frac{1}{4}$ per single column inch—5 columns to the page, with the usual discounts. An endeavour is being made to procure a footing in the productive "small ads." field.

Circulation.

Guaranteed Circulation required 9,000 per month.

To be allocated as follows:—

Maldon Division ...	4000
S.E. Essex Division ...	3000
Chelmsford Division ...	1000
Saffron Walden Division ...	1000
	9000

Finance.

Printing 9000 copies 12pp.	
present size ...	46 4 0
Less: estimated revenue from ads.	10 0 0
Debit ...	£36 0 0

Thus:

Maldon taking 4000 copies would contribute ...	16 0 0
S.E. Essex taking 3000 copies would contribute ...	12 0 0
Chelmsford taking 1000 copies would contribute ...	4 0 0
Saffron Walden taking 1000 copies would contribute ...	4 0 0
	£36 0 0

Please note the following important points:—

Adverts.

In order to make the scheme financially sound, it is important that the figure quoted as estimated revenue from advertisements should not only be assured, but should be regarded as the absolute minimum. I am enclosing a copy of the present rates of ads., and it would be of the greatest assistance if you could ascertain as to the measure of support that we should be likely to obtain in this direction from your Constituency. The rates are considerably lower than those of other local papers.

Sales.

It will be noticed that, in the event of all papers being sold, the allocation shows a slight margin of profit to the various Parties.

Payment of Quotas.

Again, it is necessary for the Parties to agree to remit their quotas regularly each month. We have agreed to remit to the printers after the publication of each issue, and it is on that understanding that the price has been quoted to us.

Annual Subs.

You would find it of great assistance during the early part of the scheme, if your members were urged to pay their subscription of one shilling in advance for the year. This would give you a balance to meet the first quotas whilst you are building up the circulation.

*What you save in Cash
you lose in Efficiency
unless all the officers of
your Party get the*
Labour Organiser

TO BAZAAR WORKERS.

Bazaar Secretaries and other Organisers are invited to write for price lists and samples of High-Class Perfumes, etc. Eau-de-Cologne, Lavender Water, Genuine Otto Perfumes, Sachets, Face Powders, etc. Ready Sales, substantial profits.

R. T. HARRISON,
34 Corrie Rd., Clifton, Manchester

"The Layman's Guide to the Franchise."

You will want extra copies of these articles for all your Ward Workers and Local Officers. Don't wait till we are sold out. Order now, and instruct extra copies to be sent while this article is appearing.

THE TRADE UNION DEFENCE CAMPAIGN.

We regret that up to the time of going to press insufficient matter is to hand to enable us to deal comprehensively with the new campaign, as intended.

Registration simplified.—Why? Because YOUR workers will KNOW.

HOW TO WIN A RURAL CONSTITUENCY.

In the "New Leader" for August 26th appeared an interesting article by Mrs. Katharine Bruce Glasier on "How to Win a Rural Constituency." The article was based on the working of affairs in the North Norfolk Division, the constituency represented by the Rt. Hon. Noel E. Buxton, M.P.

Our readers have from time to time been interested in sundry reports and information concerning the method of developing this constituency—at one time the only truly rural constituency held by the Labour Party.

Mrs. Glasier made special reference to a folder which is supplied to every Local Party secretary, the contents of which are of a varied nature including letter-pads, information giving official addresses, sets of small and large skeleton posters, a six-page leaflet on hints and helps, powers and duties of Local Labour Parties in rural constituencies, and a compendium of suggestions gathered from many sources and specially adapted to Norfolk villagers' needs. Few Divisional Labour Parties can be said to cater so fully and effectively for their local components as is shown to be here the case. We have received by post the contents of the folder which embodies all the above matters and various other reports and samples. The hints and helps will be of particular interest, and, although we are unable to print same in full, some of the following extracts will be of particular interest. We have unfortunately been compelled for considerations of space to leave out quite a number of important and interesting matters.

Foreword.—There has been for some time a need expressed by local officers and workers for suggestions for the development of local Labour Parties.

So often in the Labour Party, we see enthusiastic young men and women elected to official positions, very often appointed because they are so willing to undertake anything to advance the cause which they have at heart, and then they are left to find their way in the dark; and small wonder that sometimes they lose their way.

These suggestions have been issued to meet this need and to be a guide to officers in our various local Labour Parties.

The suggestions have been to some extent culled from those issued by the National Labour Party headquarters at the time of the inception of individual membership in 1919, and also from the report of a women's committee submitted to and approved by the National Women's Conference of 1925. We have also drawn on our own practical experience in North Norfolk, where we have established a number of effective local Labour Parties, and several local friends have helped with suggestions which have been embodied, and I wish to acknowledge all the above sources.

It is possible that in the course of practice and the further growth of local Labour Parties that local officials will be able to make further suggestions, these will be welcomed and carefully considered with a view to insertion in future editions.

S. J. GEE.

To Sustain Interest.—*Party Meetings*, at which all the *paid-up members* should be invited, should be held at *frequent and regular intervals*.

Delegates to Divisional meetings should be urged to give full and interesting reports of the doings of the Divisional Party, and the Secretary will do well if he keeps the local Press well informed of the activities of the local Labour Party.

The local Party should affiliate to the Divisional Party at the earliest opportunity, and keep the Divisional Secretary closely informed of its activities.

Propaganda Work.—There is need for co-ordinating the work of propaganda in the division, the fruit of much useful work may be wasted by the lack of any system of harvesting results.

With the growth of the number of local Labour Parties there should be a greater measure of co-operation between the local Labour Parties and the Divisional Party. The work of the Divisional Party should therefore be brought before the members of the local Labour Party from time to time by the delegate from the local Labour Party.

There is great scope for much voluntary work in the undeveloped and backward areas, this work could in many cases be undertaken by members of neighbouring local Labour Parties, and

**With heads uncovered swear we all, to answer to the "L.O.'s call.—
BUY MORE COPIES!**

the following methods might be adopted wherever possible.

- (a) The *adoption* of surrounding villages by members of the local Labour Party.
- (b) Systematic canvassing and mass canvassing of villages with suitable literature. Wherever possible it is advisable to canvass a village, both before and after a meeting, and definite records of canvass work should as far as possible be kept.
- (c) One of the difficulties experienced in rural villages is the lack of meeting room accommodation; in part this should be counteracted by open-air propaganda work, and wherever possible by *cottage meetings*. The latter are sometimes difficult to arrange by reason of the tied cottages, and the tyranny still largely prevailing on the countryside.
- (d) Cycling parties can achieve useful work in propaganda, and *youth sections* should be encouraged to co-operate wherever possible. Useful work is also being done by our concert parties who are prepared to entertain both at indoor and open-air gatherings.

(A list of these can be obtained from the Divisional Office.)

- (e) In dealing with propaganda we note the need of paying special attention to local conditions. Harvesting and other seasonal occupations require special consideration in arranging meetings. It has been noted, too, that larger numbers come to meetings on moonlight nights, for those coming from a distance can see their way better.

In seaside resorts winter is obviously the best time for propaganda.

Further Suggestions.—The tyranny still largely prevalent on the countryside, beside rendering cottage meetings difficult, often also means other forms of victimisation and a postal delivery of literature, notices, &c., is often advisable.

There is need of a supply of simple and suitable literature for distribution, send your requirements to the Divisional Office.

There is a useful field of activity

waiting to be developed on local bodies; especially on the Parish Councils, the District Councils, and the Guardians.

In view of the increased Trade Union activity in rural districts, there should be the fullest co-operation between the local Labour organisation and the Trade Union organisation.

With regard to *women's institutes* and kindred organisations, whilst recognising that undoubtedly political influence is often exercised by these organisations, the question of membership must be left to the discretion of the women members of the local Labour Party.

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Your workers want it—Order more "L.O."s at wholesale terms.

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you are always needing
about

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